

PACEM IN TERRIS IV

A national convocation to consider
the foreign policy issues in the
1976 Presidential campaign

to be assembled at the
Sheraton-Park Hotel,
Washington, D.C.
December 1-4, 1975

by

The Fund for Peace and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions





Justice, right reason,
and humanity
urgently demand
that the arms race
should cease; that
stockpiles which
exist in various
countries should be
reduced equally and
simultaneously by the
parties concerned;
that nuclear weapons
should be banned,
and that a general
agreement should
eventually be reached
about progressive
disarmament and an
effective method
of control.

Pope John XXIII

Pacem in Terris

Easter Encyclical, 1963

December 1

PACEM IN TERRIS IV

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the foreign policy issues
in the 1976 Presidential campaign*

This opening session is subject to the availability of the principal speakers. When the plenary session is officially confirmed, all those who have made reservations for the Convocation sessions described on the following pages will be notified by mail, and will be given priority in issuing admission tickets.

*Monday evening
8:00 to 10:00*

December 2

The National Interest

Tuesday morning
9:30 to 12:30

Détente in Practice: Problems, Opportunities, and Pitfalls
Henry A. Kissinger, Edward M. Kennedy*

Major issues: The practical extent of Soviet-American cooperation; the significance of détente for world peace and the American national interest; the prospects for philosophical (ideological) convergence; implications for China and the Third World.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Richard J. Barnet, Jacob K. Javits,
George F. Kennan, Hans J. Morgenthau, Fred Warner Neal

Tuesday afternoon
2:00 to 5:00

National Security and the Economy
William E. Simon, Thomas Bradley

Major issues: The impact of foreign policy on the economy in terms of employment, inflation, income distribution, social priorities, effect on the environment; concentration of power in federal government; impact on federalism and federal-local governmental relations.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Otis L. Graham, Jr., Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.,
Seymour Melman, Alice M. Rivlin

December 3

II

The Global Condition

The Economic Dimension

Robert O. Anderson, Maurice F. Strong

*Wednesday morning
9:30 to 12:30*

Major issues: Trade and aid; population; the multinational corporation vs. national sovereignty; international monetary arrangements; scientific development and technological change.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Neil H. Jacoby, Gerald Parsky |
Lord Ritchie-Calder. (confirmation of other panelists pending)/

The Military Posture

Les Aspin, James Schlesinger

*Wednesday afternoon
2:00 to 5:00*

Major issues: Arms control; balance and "equivalence"; the "doctrine of credibility"; nuclear proliferation and the thermonuclear danger; force levels, military alliances and military sales.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Joseph S. Clark, Gene R. LaRocque,
Benjamin Rosenthal, Herbert R. York, Elmo Zumwalt

The Political Dimension

*John Brademas, Daniel Patrick Moynihan**

*Wednesday evening
8:00 to 11:00*

Major issues: Cooperation or confrontation in the United Nations between the great powers and developing nations; relations of the superpowers in the United Nations; pressures of economic interdependence toward creation of new supranational institutions; voting in the United Nations, blocs and Charter reform.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Elisabeth Mann Borgese, Roberto E. Guyer,
Philip C. Jessup, Soedjatmoko, Kenneth W. Thompson

December 4

III

Foreign Policy as a Domestic Issue

Thursday morning
9:30 to 12:30

National Security and the Democratic Process
Frank Church, William Colby

Major issues: The impact of a "Cold War foreign policy" on the American system; political consequences of secrecy, espionage and counter-subversion; how to control the CIA and the FBI; elitism and the "imperial Presidency"; public honesty versus public lying; manipulation of public opinion and pressures against the news media; violations of civil rights; the role of Congress in curbing Executive authority.

Critique PANEL MEMBERS: Ray Cline, Morton Halperin,
Charles Morgan, Andrew Young

Thursday afternoon
2:00 to 5:00

Key Foreign Policy Issues in the 1976 Campaign

Summary Discussion
Speakers and panelists to be announced

Adjournment

SPEAKERS AND PARTICIPANTS

Robert M. Hutchins,
Randolph Compton,
Co-Chairmen

Harry S. Ashmore,
Secretary-General

Steering Committee:
Fred Warner Neal,
Carl Marcy,
Kenneth W. Thompson

Peter Tagger,
Executive Director

Stephen Paschke,
Treasurer

Robert O. Anderson
Chairman, Atlantic Richfield Company

Harry S. Ashmore
Associate,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Former Editor-in-Chief, Encyclopaedia Britannica

Les Aspin
Member, U.S. House of Representatives

Richard J. Barnet
Co-founder and Co-director, Institute for Policy Studies;
Former official, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament
Agency; Former Consultant, Department of Defense

Elisabeth Mann Borgese
Associate,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Chairman, (ex officio), International Ocean Institute

Robert Borosage
Director,
Center for National Security Studies

John Brademas
Member, U.S. House of Representatives

Thomas Bradley
Mayor of Los Angeles, California

Frank Church
United States Senator from Idaho;
Chairman,
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

Joseph S. Clark
Former United States Senator from Pennsylvania;
Chairman,
Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy

William Colby
Director, Central Intelligence Agency

Randolph P. Compton
Chairman, Board of Trustees, The Fund for Peace

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Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Former Deputy Secretary of Defense

Otis L. Graham, Jr.
Associate,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Professor of History,
University of California at Santa Barbara

Roberto E. Guyer
United Nations Under Secretary-General for Special Affairs

Morton Halperin
Senior Consultant,
Center for National Security Studies;
Former Deputy Secretary of Defense

Michael Harrington*
Author, *The Other America*;
Member, Editorial Board, *Dissent*

Robert M. Hutchins
President,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Former President, University of Chicago

Neil H. Jacoby
Associate,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Professor, Graduate School of Management,
University of California at Los Angeles;
Presidential Economic Advisor

Jacob K. Javits
United States Senator from New York

Philip C. Jessup
Former Justice, International Court of Justice;
Former Professor of International Law,
Columbia University

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Executive Director, National Urban League

George F. Kennan
Former United States Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
and to Yugoslavia

Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senator from Massachusetts

Henry A. Kissinger*
United States Secretary of State

Edward Lamb
Member, Board of Trustees,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Chairman, Lamb Enterprises

Gene R. LaRocque
Rear Admiral, U.S.N. (Ret.);
Director, Center for Defense Information

Mike Mansfield
United States Senator from Montana;
Senate Majority Leader

Carl Marcy
Editor, *Foreign Affairs Newsletter*;
Former Chief of Staff,
Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Frances McAllister
Member, Board of Trustees,
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Eugene J. McCarthy
Former United States Senator from Minnesota

John A. McCone*
Former Director,
Central Intelligence Agency

Seymour Melman
Professor of Industrial Engineering,
Columbia University

Charles Morgan
Washington, D.C. Director,
American Civil Liberties Union

*Subject to re-confirmation

Hans J. Morgenthau
Albert A. Michelson Distinguished Service Professor of
Political Science and Modern History Emeritus,
University of Chicago

Stewart Rawlings Mott
Member, Board of Trustees, The Fund for Peace;
Member, Board of Trustees,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Daniel Patrick Moynihan*
United States Ambassador to the United Nations

Fred Warner Neal
Associate,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Professor of International Relations and Government,
Claremont Graduate School

Gerald Parsky
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for
International Affairs

J. R. Parten
Chairman, Board of Trustees,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Peter G. Peterson*
Former United States Secretary of Commerce

Dixy Lee Ray*
Former Chairman,
Atomic Energy Commission

Lord Ritchie-Calder
Labor Member, House of Lords;
Associate,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Recipient, UNESCO Kalinga Prize

Alice M. Rivlin
Director, Congressional Office of the Budget

Benjamin Rosenthal
Member, U.S. House of Representatives

James R. Schlesinger
United States Secretary of Defense;
Former Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission

William E. Simon
United States Secretary of the Treasury

Soedjatmoko
Member,
Indonesian Development and Planning Board;
Former Ambassador to the United States

Maurice F. Strong*
Executive Director,
United Nations Environment Program

Kenneth W. Thompson
Director of Program on Higher Education,
International Council on Educational Development;
Former Vice-President, The Rockefeller Foundation

Ralph W. Tyler
Vice-President,
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
Former Director, The Center for Advanced Study
in the Behavioral Sciences

Bernard Weissbourd
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Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions;
President, Metropolitan Structures

Leonard Woodcock
President, United Automobile Workers

Herbert R. York*
Professor of Physics,
University of California at San Diego;
Science Advisor to Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy

Andrew Young
Member, U.S. House of Representatives

Elmo Zumwalt,
Admiral, U.S.N. (Ret.)

*Subject to re-confirmation